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*Rev. Dr. Ripley with the affectionate
Reminiscences of the
author*



National Republican party, Indiana.

ADDRESS

**OF THE ADMINISTRATION STANDING COMMITTEE
TO THEIR FELLOW-CITIZENS OF INDIANA.**

At a meeting of the Administration Central Committee, in the town of Salem, in April last, a Standing Committee was appointed to address their fellow-citizens at large on the various subjects brought into discussion during the Presidential canvass, and to aid in diffusing correct information among the body of the people.

This Standing Committee, fellow-citizens, now has the honor to address you. Unwilling to add to the excitement already too prevalent in the public mind, by connecting the presidential question with our State elections, we purposely abstained from addressing you until those elections were over. By adopting this course, we conceived a better opportunity would be afforded you of conferring your suffrages on *merit*, independent of *party*, and the still more important advantage attained of securing for the Presidential election your undivided attention.

In performing the duty to which we have been called, we shall address your understandings, and not your passions. We shall advance no assertions but what are founded on facts indisputably established; and so far as the limits of our address will permit, we shall refer you to the documents and authorities on which we rely. We shall invoke a dispassionate attention to your own interests, as indissolubly connected and identified with those of a great nation of republican freemen, and ask you to confer your suffrages and repose your confidence, where experience has demonstrated that you may do so with safety.

In relation to the controversy now pending before the American people, there is one fact so universal and omnipresent to our feelings and senses, that neither the art nor the boldness of our adversaries can gainsay or resist it;—we mean the universal prosperity and happiness of the people. This state of things alone, which existed without alloy, until the recent incendiary proceedings in the South, (which we shall have occasion to notice) to a rational and reflecting mind, would be an ample refutation of nine tenths of the charges urged against those who for the last three years have administered the government. It is a good general rule to judge of the administration of a government from the condition of the people. "If we see them obedient to the laws, prosperous in their industry, contented at home and respected abroad, *we may reasonably presume* that their affairs are conducted by men of experience, abilities, and virtue." If this principle, which has the sanction of a great name, be applied to the general condition of the United States, how triumphant will be the vindication of our rulers! In what favored country or age, among what people, ancient or modern, shall we search

for that degree of prosperity and happiness which the people of the United States at this time possess in full fruition? Is it not a little remarkable, does it not present the most singular of all contradictions, that when the general felicity of our condition is the constant theme of congratulation at *home* and admiration *abroad*, that the cry of rottenness and corruption is resounding through the land? As inhabitants of the West, do we not enjoy our full share of the public prosperity? We appeal to you, citizens of Indiana! Although certain political doctors are constantly feeling your pulse, talking about *symptoms*, prognosticating decay and dissolution, and prescribing their *nauseous* medicines, we fearlessly ask you, does not the life-blood of health and rigour freely circulate from the heart of our body politic through the arteries, to the remotest vein in the system? What can be the object of these kind doctors in thus urging upon a man in full health their doses and prescriptions? We leave this for you to determine.

In the mean time we seriously invite you to take a retrospect of your condition from the dawning of your infant settlements, from those trying times when the war-whoop and tomahawk beset your path to the present period of general tranquillity and improvement. Have we not been regularly progressive? Is not Indiana more flourishing now than ever? Where is the *incubus* that has fastened itself upon the body politic to stifle its respiration and impede its growth? What corner of our happy territory has the foul fiend of corruption contaminated with his poisonous touch? Alas, fellow-citizens, these are the dreams of moon-struck patriots, or the selfish howlings of political quacks! All is tranquil and prosperous in Indiana. For the last three years especially, the march of improvement has been uniformly progressive. Our land debt, which once threatened to involve our families in impoverishment and ruin, has by the mild operation of a beneficent government, been extinguished, and by the recommendation of our present chief magistrate every cent of money which the settler or purchaser of public lands may have forfeited, has been restored to him, and he is now enabled to receive for his forfeited money its full value in land at the Congress *minimum* price. This single act of the government, which was effected by the agency and interposition of Mr. Adams, is estimated to be worth to our citizens at least one hundred thousand dollars.

During these same three years, all the internal improvements that have ever been made or projected in Indiana have taken place. We allude to the continuation of the Cumberland road through our State; the extensive grants of land for the Michigan road and Wabash canal; and the employment for successive seasons of two corps of Engineers to ascertain the facilities and locate the channels of future canals. In addition to all these, the President has signed a law of the last session of Congress regulating the tariff, which promises, by discouraging and suppressing British manufactures and British capital, to do more than ever has been done to promote a *home market* for our citizens, to raise the price of our corn, beef, flour, whiskey, &c. to develop the resources of our country, and to make us *personally*, as we have long been *politically*, independent of our ancient *step-mother*.

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All these facts exist,—all these blessings are enjoyed,—yet still we hear the cry of *bargain and corruption!* down with the administration! Yes, fellow-citizens, it is too true! Party spirit is excited and fanned by every effort that ambition and disappointment can make. But from what quarter does the cry come? Who are the men that raise these notes of discord that disturb the general harmony? Do they originate among the honest and respectable yeomanry of Indiana? Is the husbandman who cultivates his farm and lives on the honest product of his labor, dissatisfied with the government that protects him? Is the grateful settler on public lands, whose freehold and home have been secured to him by the liberality of the administration, disgusted with his benefactor? Oh no! this cry proceeds from disappointed aspirants, from hungry and ravenous office-seekers! from men who more than three years ago, before the administration had performed a single public act, declared, “*they should be put down though they were as pure as the angels that stand around the throne of God.*” Yes, fellow-citizens, these are the men who reiterate the cry of *bargain*, men who have *bargained* and *combined* with each other to put down the administration *right or wrong*. Of this bargain and combination you have had abundant evidence in the unceasing malediction of our best and most distinguished public men, in the constant and systematic plan of perverting and misrepresenting the character and conduct of our chief magistrate, and in the malignant and unparalleled persecution of the Secretary of State. As to evidence of any other bargain, we have never seen it. Our adversaries have been challenged and defied to produce it. They have wholly failed—and the only evidence of this party catch-word “*bargain*,” consists in the just and faithful administration of the government. If such be the result of bargains among our public men; if they will bargain with each other to do their duty, to promote our interests, to advance the cause of domestic industry and internal improvement, and we get the benefit of the contract, God forbid that we should object to any such bargain!

From what other quarter has this denunciation, not only of the President, but of the government at large, originated? And where does it now rage with malignant fury? Not among the grain-growing states—not among the immense majority of our fellow-citizens where free labour is encouraged and rewarded. No, fellow-citizens, it springs from the avaricious nabob of the South; from the owner of some fifties or hundreds of human beings, who is maddened to desperation at the encouragement of manufactures and of *white labor*, who fears that by the growth and prosperity of *freemen*, the value of *slaves* may be depreciated, and who seems willing to raise the standard of rebellion and civil war, to keep up the prices of his crops and his negroes!

You were told in the administration address of January last, that the people of the South were deliberately opposed to that policy and those interests which you have uniformly regarded as essential to your prosperity, and you were cautioned against supporting a man for the Presidency who was, and is, mainly relied upon by the slaveholders of the South as their champion, to break down, not simply

Adams and Clay, but the whole system of policy which has for its object the independence of our country, and the growth and advancement of the west. We then referred you to the declarations of Gov. Giles of Virginia, and the resolutions of the Legislature of South Carolina declaring all 'Tariff' laws for the protection of domestic manufactures, and all appropriations for internal improvements to be *unconstitutional*. Yet we never dreamed of the extent, or the violence which this Southern opposition has recently assumed. We never imagined that members of Congress, that Governors and Judges could be found who would advocate resistance to the laws of the union, and because they were *out-voted* by the people's representatives constitutionally assembled, madly threaten to dissolve the union. We never expected in our day to hear a member of Congress proclaim to his constituents, that because they failed in shaping a vote of the national representatives agreeably to their wishes, that "*they were tenfold more insulted, more injured, more disgraced and condemned by the majority of Congress, than our forefathers were at the breaking out of the Revolution; that the people of the South were represented in theory but not in fact.*"

For fear we should be suspected of exaggerating the language and proceedings of our Southern brethren in reference to the tariff, we shall here give you copious extracts of said proceedings, copied from their own papers, and published in Niles' Register.

Extract from an address of sundry citizens of Colleton district, to the people of the State of South Carolina.—From Niles' Register, June 28.

"What course is left to us to pursue? Our northern and western brethren are not, cannot, be ignorant of the operation of the system they advocate, or of the powers they claim for the general government. They full well know, because like us they must ~~know~~, that it lifts them to prosperity, while it sinks us into ruin. We have done by words all that words can do. To talk more *must* be a *dastard's* refuge.

"What course is left to us to pursue? If we have the common pride of men, or the determination of freemen, we must *resist* the imposition of this tariff. We stand committed. To be stationary is impossible. We must either retrograde in dishonor and in shame, and receive the contempt and scorn of our brethren, superadded to our wrongs, and their system of oppression, strengthened by our toleration; or we must, "*by opposing, end them.*" To the very last vote in Congress, we have kept this dreaded alternative from our minds, still clinging to the vain hope, that some kindred feeling, some sense of constitutional justice, some spirit of forbearance and compromise, such as influenced our fathers when acting together, and the framers of the constitution, would rescue us from this bitter emergency. But it has come, and we may not shrink in meeting it.

"In advising an attitude of *open resistance to the laws of the union*, we deem it due to the occasion, and that we may not be misunderstood, distinctly, but briefly to state without argument, our constitutional faith. For it is not enough that imposts laid for the protection of domestic manufactures are oppressive, and transfer in their operation millions of our property to northern capitalists. If we have given our bond, let them take our blood. Those who resist these imposts, must deem them *unconstitutional*, and the principle is abandoned by the payment of *one cent*, as much as *ten millions*."

Extracts from the Georgia Journal:

"These then are the blessings of the 'American System,' in only one particular branch of it. Well might Col. Hayne say of it, that 'it would grind our people to the dust:'—and Mr. McDuffie, that it is '*an abominable scheme of legalized plunder*'—'*a stuporous scheme of imposture and delusion.*'"

The same paper says—"A writer in the Charleston Courier asserts, that an application has been made to the Governor of South Carolina to convene the legislature of that state: and it is pretty plainly intimated, that the purpose of the meeting is to take measures preparatory to a *secession of the state from the union, in consequence of the passage of the tariff bill.*"

Another paper says:—

"The object of every agriculturalist should be in the first place to devise means for the destruction of the manufacturing mania. If any plan capable of being adopted by a state legislature suggests itself, the public should be put in possession of it."

In the "Southron," a paper printed in Milledgeville, Ga. we find the following remarks. After alluding to the passage of the tariff bill, and calling it the "accursed chain to bind us as victims to the idol mammon;" "a detestable badge of slavery and degradation" &c. the editor goes on to say:

"We must now turn ourselves to other means and other defences, constitutional indeed, but at the same time with a spirit, pushing resistance to the very bounds of the constitution. Let there be a wall raised between them and us; and let us say unto them as Abraham said unto Lot:

"Let there be no strife, I pray thee, between thee and me, and between thy herdsmen and my herdsmen: for we be brethren. Is not the whole land before thee? Separate thyself, I pray thee, from me; if thou wilt take the left hand, then I will go to the right, or if thou depart to the right hand, then I will go to the left."

Let us lay upon ourselves the injunction which God, through Moses, laid on the Israelites:

"And thou shalt gather all the spoil of it into the midst of the street thereof, and shalt burn with fire the city and all the spoil thereof; *and there shall cleave nought of the cursed thing to thine hand.*"

Let us govern ourselves by the advice of the Apostle:

"Touch not, taste not, handle not, the unclean thing which is theirs."

And for this purpose we would recommend *that a congress assemble from all the states opposed to a protective tariff*, in order to advise and recommend to the different legislatures and people, such measures, consistent with the constitution, as may seem best calculated to protect them from the operation of the tariff bill, *and prevent the introduction and use of the tariffed articles in their respective states.*"

The "Columbia (S. C.) Telescope," contains an article signed "MOLO," probably the production of Dr. Cooper, which has the following *admirable* scheme of operation:

"Let the legislatures of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama, *prohibit* the introduction of horses, mules, hogs, beef, cattle, bacon and bagging, and what advantages will Ohio, Kentucky, and Indiana, derive from the tariff bill, commensurate with the loss of our markets for their surplus of such articles? Let us prohibit the introduction of whiskey, flour, beef, cheese, &c. and how will New York and Pennsylvania be compensated by the tariff, for the loss of our custom? and these last states would be more deeply affected, should the southern states lay a municipal tax, amounting to prohibition, on all stock in trade, consisting of goods, wares, or merchandize, the produce of those states. *Let us not be told that such prohibitions cannot be laid.* Most of the states have, at some time, prohibited the introduction of slaves under severe penalties: and many of the states have even stopped the transit of such property. A very slight alteration of our law regulating pedlars, would effectually control the horse, hog, mule, cattle, bagging and bacon trade of the west. Should some such measures as we have proposed, be adopted by the states of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama, and other states favorable to free trade and state rights, we have no doubt

but New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Kentucky, and Indiana, would find it to their interest to procure the repeal of municipal prohibitions, by a repeal of all protecting duties laid by Congress—and *we know they will do what their interests dictates*. That those measures may be effectual, it is important that the states concerned should act in concert, and mutually support each other; and this can be accomplished by the assembling of an *anti-tariff congress*."

THE SOUTH. The most bitter things are still said of, and done in opposition to the tariff in South Carolina, and among other violent proceedings had at Columbia, on the night of the 30th ult, the tariff bill, together with the effigies of Messrs. Clay, Webster, Everett, Matthew Carey, Taylor of N. York, and Mallary, were burnt amid a large concourse of spectators.—*Niles Reg.* July 19, 1828.

Extract from Mr. McDuffie's speech, delivered at Columbia, S. C.

"There was no hope, (Mr. McDuffie said,) of a change in the system. Two thirds of Congress, actuated by selfish, ambitious, and avaricious motives, were determined to pursue their course, reckless of all consequences, and totally regardless of the ruin of that portion of the union which produced more than two-thirds of the exports of the whole country. Indeed some, he believed, pursued the measure with redoubled zeal, because they hoped in their hearts that that would be the end of it. There was no colony on the face of the earth, that were not better situated than we were. We were ten-fold more insulted, more injured, more disgraced and contemned, by the majority of Congress than our forefathers were by the ministers of Great Britain at the breaking out of the Revolution; for the truth of which assertion, he referred to one venerable living monument of those times, then before him (Col. Thomas Taylor.) He said, the people of the South, although represented in Congress in *theory*, were not so in *fact*; but were actually in a worse situation than they would be, if they had not even the appearance of it. Our representation in that body at present is precisely that suggested by the British Government at the beginning of the Revolution, and which was rejected with scorn and indignation by Franklin, Adams, Hancock, and other noble patriots of that day. These great men said, and they said wisely, that the proposition was a mere mockery. For what could it avail this country to have a representation of sixty members in the British parliament consisting of five hundred members predetermined upon a course of legislative hostilities against us? Mr. McDuffie said, it was more than obvious that such a representation could have conducted to no other end, than that of exasperating the spirit of hostility and oppression already existing, by the irritation which the opposition of this inefficient minority, might, from time to time, be irresistably provoked to set up. The truth of this, said Mr. McDuffie, was manifested by the very fact that if our representatives in congress dared to confront and refute the folly and wickedness of our enemies, it made them as eager again to subdue and annihilate us. *It was for the southern people to determine how long they would bear this, and in what manner they would resist it;* but he was sure it would have been better for the south if they had no representatives this last winter at Washington. It would have been better for their representatives to have quit the capitol, and have come home; for remaining there was only bearding and provoking the lion. He was sure that if an angel had come down from heaven, that no truth, no argument, even from his lips, would have prevailed with a set of men desperately bent on their own aggrandizement—upon the ruin of the south. They had the power, and *power* never heard argument. To reason with a tyrant was but to provoke his wrath and draw down his vengeance. What could sixty members from the south do? They would have been silent, and thereby supplicate the fell foe, by their meekness, but it became impossible any longer to listen to the insults heaped upon us, as they thus portioned off our wealth among the majority; and at last, when human nature could no longer suffer in silence, our complaints were styled *insolence and threats*. It was to this dreadful extremity that our national councils had come."

Mr. McDuffie spoke nearly two hours, and it is impossible for us to describe the deep feeling with which his speech was received. Shouts and applause

frequently interrupted the speaker. He ended by hoping that the citizens of South Carolina would appear on the 4th of July, clothed in homespun, the manufacture of the south.—Niles Reg. July 19.

You here find George McDuffie chairman of the committee of ways and means—a leading member of the house, and sworn friend of General Jackson—publicly asserting that “the people of the south are *tenfold more insulted, more injured, more disgraced, and more contemned*, than were our forefathers by Great Britain, at the breaking out of the Revolution.” What is this, fellow citizens, more or less than an invitation to resist the authority of the Union, and set up for themselves! Mark, we entreat you, another of his assertions: “The south is represented in *theory*, but not in *fact*.”

It is an old proverb, and a very just one, that those who live in glass houses should not throw stones. The gentlemen of the south have always manifested great sensibility and irritation, whenever their *representation* has been alluded to; particularly, if any political reasoner has been blunt and candid enough to speak of it as extravagant and overcharged; as being more numerous than on principles of justice and equality they were entitled to. But here is a congressman from the south, who boldly throws down the glove, and challenges the nation to redress the wrongs of his countrymen, or civil war will be the consequence. Two years ago the same gentleman was enlisted heart and soul, in an effort to change the constitution of the United States. He now declares the South to be represented in *theory* but not in *fact*. These bold and extravagant declarations, proceeding from a public source, and stamped as it were with official authority, will be regarded as a sufficient justification for examining the correctness of Mr. McDuffie’s assertions. And fellow-citizens, what will be your feelings of indignation against this incendiary of the South, when you find that this man, who has thus thrown a fire-brand into the sacred temple of our union, is a Representative of a State which has at this very moment *four* representatives on the floor of Congress more than her white population would authorize? By the census of 1820, South Carolina had a slave population of 265,000 souls. The constitution of the United States contains a provision which this very state and her southern sisters insisted upon inserting in that instrument as an indispensable condition of their uniting in the federal compact, by which 66,666 slaves became and were politically equivalent to 40,000 free whites. And yet this man complains of *not being represented*! There are now, fellow-citizens, on the floor of Congress, *twenty-four* representatives who are created and hold their seats entirely and exclusively in consequence of the *live stock* or *black property* held in these United States. Does it belong to these men, to charge us, who have conceded to them this extravagant privilege, with not allowing them their rights? After giving them a surplus weight in the councils of the nation equal to the whole of Pennsylvania, and greater than all the states north of the Ohio combined, is there any justice or decency in their complaints? Is it for them to threaten to tear down the constitution? and when fairly *out-voted*, the 24 surplus representatives to the contrary notwithstanding, to threaten us with civil war?

What would this great Southern Patriot, this amender of the constitution, have us do, to accommodate his notions of *actual* representation? A representation of three-fifths of the slaves is merely "*theoretical*." He would of course have his negro property set on a level with white freemen, and allowed a full vote, man for man. If that should not be sufficient to enable him to *out-vote* the grain growing states, he will be reduced to the necessity of proposing another amendment to the constitution, by which the vote of the slave-holder in Congress shall count two, while that of a non-slaveholder counts only one!

But suppose the major part of the population of the South disapprove, as we trust in God they do, of the outrageous and treasonable language of Mr. McDuffie and the Colleton district; still the coolest and most moderate of them, with Mr. Crawford at their head, are publicly pledged to put down the tariff. They denounce it as unconstitutional; they proscribe it as unjust; they are resorting to every expedient to deter or drive us from a system of policy which we regard as vitally essential to our prosperity. Meetings are called in various parts of the country, resolutions are proposed and adopted with great unanimity, to withhold from us their trade, to lay prohibitory taxes on the mules, horses, hogs, and cattle of the west, and some of their flaming patriots are so charitable and courteous as to proclaim in their meetings, that "the Hemp of Kentucky is better fitted to make *cravats* for the Kentuckians, than *covers* for their cotton." Yet these are the men whom it is seriously proposed we should unite with heart and hand in making a President. These are the men who publicly proclaim that the election of General Jackson as President of the United States, would be the greatest blessing and benefaction they could desire or possess!

Yes, fellow-citizens, it becomes you to engrave deeply in your memories, that the sworn enemies of the Tariff and Internal Improvements, the Hamiltons, the McDuffies, the Gileses, of the South, are all leagued together in a general conspiracy to pull down the present administration, and to plant the standard of Jackson upon its ruins!

Such are the principles, and such the conduct of the leading politicians of the South. Let us leave them for a few moments, and take a glance at Tennessee. Let us enquire what are her feelings and wishes, and what have been her votes in relation to the tariff and internal improvements? Let us ask, what probability is afforded, what rational prospect is presented to us, if we unite with her in making a President, that these cardinal interests of ours, will be fostered and protected?

We shewed you last January, by extracts from the Journals of Congress, that she had uniformly voted with the South against every tariff law that had for its object the encouragement of domestic manufactures; and that her votes against the woollens bill were unanimous. But one solitary vote of General Jackson in favor of the tariff in 1824, is claimed by his friends as demonstration unanswerable, that he is, at least in principle, on our side of these weighty questions; and perhaps the desire of convincing Indiana, Ohio, and Kentucky, that Tennessee would go hand in hand with us in making a Presi-

dent, may have induced her to vote with us on the late tariff. Exactly the contrary; no such good news for us. Every vote from Tennessee in the House of Representatives was given *against* the late tariff. Whilst Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri, were *unanimous for it*, Tennessee was *unanimous against it*. Is not this, fellow-citizens, a fresh demonstration of what we told you last January, that Tennessee, notwithstanding her geographical position, is, in her feelings, her wishes, her habits, and her votes, in strict alliance with the South?

So far, then, as the prominent friends of one of the candidates for the Presidency have disclosed their feelings and views of policy, they are directly at war with your sense of your own interests. This single fact, fastened and rivetted upon us by reiterated demonstration, is of itself sufficient to induce reasonable and prudent men to pause, and seriously inquire, whether they do not wantonly risque their best interests by uniting with their open and avowed enemies in electing a chief magistrate?

Surely, fellow-citizens, it is unnecessary to inform you that mankind love their friends and hate their enemies. Of this prevailing trait in the human character, no man has afforded more convincing evidence than Gen. Jackson. Hence we entertain no doubt that if a large majority of his friends and supporters are anti-tariff, and anti-improvement in their politics, such will be the character of his administration. What think you of the motives of the leading politicians of the South in supporting General Jackson? Personal attachment? Men of sense in electing a President look beyond this consideration, which by the law of necessity is limited to a small circle of individuals. No! the Southern gentlemen care no more for Gen. Jackson personally, than they do for Mr. Adams. They however regard the one as an instrument for promoting their personal aggrandizement or sectional policy, whilst from the other they have little to hope or expect on these heads. The men of the South act consistently with their views (erroneous we believe them) of their own interests. But what shall we say of the fool-hardiness of *western men*, who, with all the preceding facts staring them in the face, persist in supporting Gen. Jackson on the ground and expectation of his continuing the policy of the present administration? To call it giving up a certainty for an uncertainty, to say that is it throwing away the substance to grasp at the shadow, are but feeble and inadequate expressions of the stupidity and folly of such conduct.

In the preceding remarks, we have assumed the fact, or rather we have not disturbed the supposition, that Mr. Adams and Gen. Jackson were candidates for the Presidency, with equal pretensions on the score of merit, talents, and capacity, to administer the government. Whether this be a fact, or even a remote approximation to it, is for you, fellow-citizens, to judge; and we presume your minds, like ours, will be influenced by evidence.

When a man asks of his countrymen the high office of presiding over a nation of freemen, when he aspires to the loftiest station that man can occupy or men bestow, it is not only natural and proper, but it is the imperative duty of the constituents of this high office to exam-

ine with unsparing scrutiny his character and qualifications. The vessel of state, freighted with the destinies of millions of freemen, must not and *cannot* be committed to any other than a pilot of consummate skill, experience, and integrity. To take a commander of such a vessel, on such a voyage *upon trust*, without a rigorous investigation of capacity and integrity, would indicate a degree of madness and folly, for which we have no name.

Does the office of President of the United States call for talents of the highest order, for extensive political and diplomatic acquirements, for long experience in public affairs, for habits of industry, for coolness, patience, and equanimity, for a disciplined temper, for devoted patriotism, for unblemished morals? Which of the candidates answers this description? A brief history of their respective lives will enable us to judge.

Mr. Adams has been in the public service of his country for a period of thirty-five years. Selected at the early age of 27 by the Father of his country, who was pre-eminently distinguished for his judgment of men, he was appointed ambassador to Holland, and had the good fortune to realize the high expectations, and to enjoy the entire confidence of Gen. Washington, who, in 1796, appointed him Minister to Lisbon. So strong was the interest which General Washington felt in retaining Mr. John Q. Adams in the service, that after his father, the elder Adams, had been elected to the Presidency, Gen. Washington addressed him a letter, expressing "a hope that no *over delicacy* on his part would operate to withhold from his son merited promotion," adding "that in his opinion he was the most valuable public man we then had abroad in the service of the country." He was afterwards appointed minister to Berlin. In 1802, he returned home, and in 1803, he was elected to the Senate of the United States, the duties of which station he discharged until the spring of 1808, when his constituents disapproving of the vote he had given in favor of the Embargo, he resigned his seat for the express purpose of giving them an opportunity to elect a successor who could represent their feelings without doing violence to his own sense of duty. In 1809 Mr. Madison appointed him minister to Russia; and in 1813 he was associated with Messrs. Gallatin and Bayard to negotiate a peace with Great Britain. He was afterwards appointed Minister to London, where he continued until 1817, when Mr. Monroe, with the approbation of Gen. Jackson, appointed him Secretary of State, the arduous duties of which office he discharged with unrivalled ability for eight years. For the last three years and a half, he has been our chief magistrate. In all these various employments, he has uniformly met and answered the high expectations of his country, and completely justified the confidence reposed in him five and thirty years ago by the Father of his Country. The first charge of official misconduct or neglect of duty is yet to be established against him. He is the avowed friend and patron of the American System. He has been *tried* and not found wanting.

Gen. Jackson is about the same age of Mr. Adams, and has been first and last pretty extensively engaged in public life. There is however this difference between them; that the employment in which

Gen. Jackson has obtained any degree of reputation has been *military* and not *civil*. "He was, like Mr. Adams, bred to the profession of the law, a profession best calculated to improve the faculties, which civil employments require. But the history of his public life, in these employments, is told in a few lines on a single page of his Biography.—(*See Eaton's life of Jackson.*) He filled successively for very short periods, the office of Member of the Tennessee State Convention, Representative and Senator in Congress, Judge of the Supreme Court in Tennessee, and Senator again in Congress. Here was ample opportunity for distinction, if he possessed the talent, taste, and application suited to civil eminence. But he resigned three of these stations, and passed through them all, acknowledging his unfitness in two instances, manifestly feeling it in all, and leaving no trace behind which stamps his qualifications above mediocrity."

But we beg pardon for seeming to hurry over the civil career of General Jackson. We must retrace our steps. There was one vote given by the General while a representative in Congress, which distinguishes him, and ought to be remembered. General Washington was about retiring from the Presidency. He had composed and published his farewell address, a legacy rich in those principles and paternal counsels, on which depend the dearest interests of the country, indeed its very existence. The house of representatives, anxious to express their gratitude for his services, their veneration for his character, and respect for his administration, drew up an address, in which was the following clause: "May you long enjoy that liberty which is so dear to you, and to which your name will ever be dear: may your own virtues and a nation's prayers obtain the happiest sunshine for the decline of your days, and the choicest of future blessings. *For our country's sake, for the sake of republican liberty, IT IS OUR EARNEST WISH THAT YOUR EXAMPLE MAY BE THE GUIDE OF YOUR SUCCESSORS, and thus after being the ornament and safeguard to the present age, become the patrimony of our descendants.*" A motion to strike out this clause from the address was made and supported by Mr. Giles of Virginia, and Mr. Livingston of N. York, *now* of Louisiana, two devoted friends of Gen. Jackson. The motion was lost by a large majority, eleven members only voting to strike it out. Among these we find inscribed the name of ANDREW JACKSON, who thus declared his disapprobation of the measures of Washington, and his wish that his example might not be followed by succeeding Presidents. Fellow-citizens, are you prepared to make this man the successor of the immortal Washington?

It is with great reluctance that we enter upon a scrutiny of the life and conduct of General Jackson. We are well aware that for his military services, he merits, as he has received, a copious tribute of the nation's gratitude. We have on all occasions liberally recorded him the meed of honor due to meritorious and successful efforts in repelling the enemies of his country. The laurels won by him and his brave companions on the 8th of January, might have bloomed and flourished in perpetual verdure, had he not sought to entwine them with the *civic wreath*, which alone befits the brow of the accomplished statesman. He has asked at our hands more than

we can afford to give. He has asked *that* which justice to ourselves demands we should inquire whether he be worthy to *receive*."

Duty then, stern duty, compels us to declare, that the military achievements of Gen. Jackson have been so tarnished by acts of insubordination, tyranny and oppression, as to have made it a nice and questionable point, whether we should admire the *hero* or detest the *man*. It has been an invariable practice with him to carry the exercise of power to the extreme verge of constitutionality and legality, and where legal power was wanting, he has never hesitated to assume it. For acts of insubordination, we refer you to his repeated refusals to obey the orders of the President of the U. States, issued through the Secretary of War, and to his famous general orders, issued at Nashville in April, 1817, in which he forbids his officers and troops from obeying the orders of their government unless the orders come through him. For acts of tyranny, we need only refer to his treatment of Mr. Louaillier, a Member of the legislature of Louisiana, and of Judges Hall and Lewis, wherein he plainly manifested a determination to set the civil authority at defiance, and to establish a military Dictatorship.—(See Dallas' official letter.

In proof of insolence and a domineering, brow-beating temper, beyond all parallel, we cite you to his letter to Gov. Rabun of Ga. "*You, sir, as Governor of a State, within my military district, have no right to give a military order whilst I am in the field:*" and his still more intemperate and indecent language to Mr. Fromentin, a U. S. Judge in Florida. For acts of cruelty, we refer you to the execution of John Woods and the six militia men, who died the victims of the reckless intemperance or the gross ignorance of their Commanding General.

But, fellow-citizens, time and space would fail us to enumerate all the acts of arbitrary conduct in office, which have planted in our minds the irrevocable conviction, that General Jackson belongs to a class of men, *who feel power, and forget right*. If these things be done in the *green tree*, what shall be done in the *dry*? If we voluntarily lodge power in hands that have so often abused it, then indeed do we deserve to be the victims of tyranny and misrule. Did there exist no other evidence against the General, than what has been exhibited by his public and official conduct, we should feel bound to decide, like the patriotic people of Louisiana, who recently, on the very theatre of his glory, on the spot where the battle of N. Orleans opened to him the temple of immortality, by their votes declared, that, comparing his good deeds with his bad, setting his virtues in one scale and his vices in the other, the latter far outweighed the former.

But unfortunately for the General, the volume of his history contains several pages that either never were seen by Mr. Senator Eaton his biographer, or which he took the liberty to suppress: pages which implicate him deeply as a citizen, patriot, and man. We do not allude to gambling or horse racing, nor even to tavern brawls and duels, in which, unless history and Senator Benton be false, he has played a conspicuous part. We mean to state that Gen. Jackson is publicly charged, in his own state, by respectable and responsible men, with having been a dealer in human flesh, for the purposes of

speculation, in other words, with having been a *Negro trader*, and of having been an associate and accomplice of the notorious *AARON BURR*! Fellow-citizens, these are no trifling charges; nor are we trifling with you, when we state most solemnly, that we have seen evidence that convinces us that the charges are true. In order that you may have an opportunity of understanding these charges and the evidence on which they rest, we shall present you with a brief summary of each of them, and refer you to the evidence in our Appendix.

The charge of *Negro trading* is made by Dr. Boyd McNairy, in the Nashville Whig of July 18, and by Col. Andrew Erwin in the same paper of August 2, and supported by the letters of Horace Green, one of the partners in the speculation, and Mr. Robt. Weakly, and one letter and one memorandum, both in the hand writing of Gen. Jackson; by all which it appears, that on the 18th of May 1811, Joseph Coleman, Horace Green, and Andrew Jackson, entered into articles of agreement with R. Apperson for the purchase of Negroes to the amount of \$10,050. The terms of payment were, \$2,050 in hand, \$4,000 at the expiration of six and \$4,000 more at the expiration of twelve months. Dr. McNairy and Col. Erwin are among the most respectable citizens of the state of Tennessee. (See appendix.) It is further in proof that these Negroes were taken to the lower country and part of them sold, but the speculation not turning out as profitable as was expected, Gen. Jackson bought out his partners, went down to Natchez, and brought back the unsold Negroes to Tennessee. Evidence has also been published in the same papers, shewing one or two other speculations by the General in the same detestable traffic!

The charge of *Burrism* is founded on and supported by the following statement of facts. In December 1827, Judge Williams of Tennessee wrote to Mr. Kerr of Virginia a letter, of which the following is an extract:

“My dear sir:—It is madness to think of Jackson for President of the United States. This Burr matter I cannot be mistaken about—my eyes and ears are my witnesses. He, Jackson, offered me a commission of Captain in Burr’s army, or told me I could get one, if I would accept it.”

This letter to Mr. Kerr excited some attention in Virginia, and a friend of Gen. Jackson wrote to him informing him of the fact; upon which Gen. Jackson on the 23d of February 1828, addressed a letter to Judge Williams, (*for which see Appendix*) inquiring if it were true that he the Judge had given the sanction of his name to what he the General pronounced a base calumny, and demanding a prompt and frank reply. This letter appears to have been sent by a special messenger, all the way to Sparta, a distance of one hundred and odd miles from the General’s residence; and from the tone and style of the letter, Gen. Jackson evidently anticipated an answer that would be satisfactory. On the 27th of February, four days only after the date of the General’s letter, Judge Williams replied to him, affirming most positively that he, the General had told him (Williams) that he could, if he would accept it, obtain a commission of Captain in

Burr's army. and he made other statements going to shew that Jackson was concerned with Burr.—(See Appendix.

Now, notwithstanding Gen. Jackson was so eager to obtain the answer of Judge Williams as to send his nephew specially a hundred miles to Sparta for that purpose, thereby shewing his own view of the importance of the charge, yet on the receipt of the Judge's answer, he remained perfectly quiet for upwards of six months! It is now past the middle of September, and no effort has been made to contradict the statement of Judge Williams. On the contrary, abundant evidence has appeared that Jackson was concerned with Burr in forwarding his expedition, that he advanced money for him, endorsed his bills, was his agent in purchasing boats and provisions, and in seeking to enlist men to accompany him down the Cumberland—(See Appendix.) The General himself has sworn, and the affidavit is of record in the state of Mississippi, that Burr was indebted to him upwards of \$500 for monies advanced and paid on his account. Gen. Coffee also made an affidavit to the same effect.

Now, fellow-citizens, we request you to mark the responses made to these accusations, and to notice particularly the manner in which they have been met. To the charge of *Negro trading* the downright lie is first given. Afterwards finding that the facts proved are too strong to tolerate a denial of the charge, the act is justified "because Gen. Jackson was only a *security*, and it is the duty of a *security* to take all measures to protect himself." Just so it is in reference to Burr's business: the lie is first given to every assertion connecting Gen. Jackson and Aaron Burr in the remotest manner. Gen. Jackson himself pronounces the charge of his connection with Burr a *base calumny*. But finding the facts in support of this calumnious charge multiplying, finding witness after witness and letter after letter, rising in judgment against him, his friends resort to the plea of justification, and plead the General's ignorance of Burr's bad intentions, and his supposition that the government had sanctioned his plans!

This latter is a lame and clumsy excuse for a man who had been a Representative and Senator in Congress and Judge of the Supreme Court in his own State. Did not Gen. Jackson know that the government of the United States had no power to sanction the ambitious schemes of Mr. Burr or any other daring unprincipled projector?

We are however triumphantly referred to Gen. Jackson's letter to Gov. Claiborne of Nov. 12, 1806; in which letter the General warns Gov. C. against Wilkinson, but says not a word of Burr. If Jackson really wished to act like a patriot, and warn the Governor of his real danger, why not mention the head of the conspiracy at once, why name one of the subordinate agents and leave the head unnoticed? To shew that this attempt to exculpate Jackson fails, we have only to remark that there is the most convincing testimony to prove, that more than a month after this letter to Gov. Claiborne was written, Burr was an inmate at Gen. Jackson's house, that he left there after the 20th December, 1806, and was accompanied on his expedition by Stokely D. Hays, a nephew of Gen. Jackson. Is it likely that Gen. Jackson would have suffered his nephew, a youth of 17, to embark

his fortunes with Burr, six weeks after he had denounced this same Burr to Gov. Claiborne?

Some men have been so uncharitable as to declare their belief that Gen. Jackson's letters to Mr. Jefferson and Gov. Claiborne were written with a view to his own eventual security, in case Burr's schemes should fail. Whether they were or not, we do not pretend to say. But for fear some men may be so unreasonable and extravagant as to imitate the General himself, and hazard a bold sweeping denial of the charge of connection or association with Burr, we will just advert to the correspondence between Gen. Jackson and Gen. Adair, as published in the Lexington Reporter in 1817. In that correspondence, Gen. Jackson himself, with more spite than prudence, had cast in Gen. Adair's teeth the charge of having been associated with Burr! Gen. Adair in his reply observes: *"Whatever were the intentions of Col. Burr, I neither organised troops, nor did I superintend the building of boats for him, nor did I write confidential letters, recommending him to my friends, nor did I think it necessary, after his failure was universally known, to save myself by turning INFORMER OR STATE WITNESS."*

Why, we would ask, do Jackson and his friends tell two stories on this subject? Why do they in one breath pronounce the charge of connection with Burr a base calumny, and in the next excuse and justify it? Truth is simple and uniform. Either the General was connected with Burr, or he was not. If he was, why not openly avow it and assign the reason? Why call those who say he was, calumniators? If he was not, then Gen. Coffee and Gen. Jackson himself have both written and sworn what is false!

We have thus, in the discharge of a painful but necessary duty, exhibited to you our views of the real character of Gen. Jackson. We have shewn you that his character, his temper, and his conduct, furnish but indifferent vouchers for the mild and impartial exercise of power. We have shewn you that his public life is disfigured and deformed by intemperate proceedings, by violations and insults of the civil authority, by tyranny and usurpation on the one hand, and insubordination on the other. We have shewn you that his private character is stained with speculations in the flesh and blood of his fellow-beings, and stamped with the strongest suspicions of having entertained designs unfriendly to the union. Admit for a moment with his friends, that his subsequent good conduct has justified and redeemed his character, still will you choose for your chief magistrate a man who is justly obnoxious to odious charges, and whose purity has been soiled by imputations which either of you would esteem dishonorable to have fastened upon you by one half the proof that exists against the General. The private character of our President ought not only to be pure, but above suspicion.

On the other hand, we have shewn you the public life and private character of Mr. Adams. We cannot say of him, nor of any other public man, that he is without enemies. He has an abundance of them; not on account of his own errors or foibles simply, but he is held responsible for the faults and mistakes of his father. But weigh them all in the scales with the acknowledged vices and faults

of General Jackson, and we fearlessly ask you, which will preponderate? When did Mr. Adams ever feel power and forget right? When was his ear ever closed against the voice of mercy and compassion? When were his hands ever stained with a detestable traffic in the persons and lives of his fellow creatures? When was he the host, the agent, the friend, and associate, of a suspected traitor? When was it his boast and pride that he could look on blood and carnage with composure?

But look for a moment at the policy of Mr. Adams, under which we now thrive and flourish, and the policy of a large majority of the friends of Gen. Jackson! Do you wish the heated partisans of the South to obtain power, and thus inflict a vital wound on your interests? They already refuse to trade with you. They say they won't buy your horses, your cattle, and your hogs! They threaten to drive you from your opinions, to coerce you into their measures, by taxing you into anti-tariff notions; and they most charitably offer to convert your hemp into straight jackets and tight collars, for your special benefit. They are now fortunately in the minority! What think you these kind hearted people will do when they mount the ladder of power, with a man at their head who *can* look on blood and carnage with composure? Already is McDuffie singled out as the Jackson Secretary of State! Already is the South chuckling in anticipation of the downfall of Henry Clay and the American System? Yes, fellow-citizens, whilst they are burning your first patriots and statesmen in effigy, and threatening you with civil war in case you do not yield to their insolent demands, they impudently rely upon your gullibility, and expect you to unite with them in voting for a President!!

Great pains are taken by the friends of the General, in boasting of their numbers, to proclaim victory by anticipation. But, fellow-citizens, be not deceived. Their cause is sinking. The Hero is losing ground in his own state. His character has been probed, and found tainted to the core. Hundreds and thousands are leaving the Military Chieftain, to rally round the civil guardian of the laws, our peaceful and virtuous President. There is no earthly doubt of Mr. Adams receiving the united votes of the six New-England States, 51 in number, 24 votes in New York, the whole of New Jersey and Delaware, nine votes in Maryland, the whole of Ohio, Kentucky, and Louisiana, making in all *one hundred and thirty votes!* If you do your duty, fellow-citizens, you will give him five more, which will secure his election. But we are speaking far within bounds. We have not mentioned Pennsylvania, of the vote of which in our favour there is a strong and increasing probability, which will give us a clear majority of 27 votes!

But, fellow-citizens, let the anticipations and prognostications of politicians be what they may, you have a vital interest at stake, and are bound by every principle of honor and patriotism, to discharge the solemn duty you owe your country, by conferring your suffrages on an honest, enlightened, and experienced statesman. The nations of the earth are gazing with interest on the manner in which you exercise your sovereign power. They are zealously scanning the

principles that regulate the bestowment of your suffrages. With most of them, the contest between the civil and military power has resulted in the triumph of the latter and the downfall of the former. At this very moment Europe herself is the armed advocate for the supremacy of military power! Beware how you suffer them to imbibe an opinion that your views on this vitally important subject coincide with their own. Shew them by your conduct, shew them by your votes that ours is a government of Laws, of Religion, of Morals, and of Peace, and that to obtain the highest boon in the gift of enlightened freemen a man must exhibit other qualifications than those of a **MILITARY CHIEFTAIN**.

APPENDIX.

NO. 1.

From Niles' Register of August 16th.

THE following beautiful scheme of operations has been projected, and thrown out to the public, through the Charleston "Mercury." We give it as a further specimen, and in preparation of a large collection of like articles which we intend to record, and defy the presentation of any paper published in the days of the Hartford Convention, even in the writings of the "Boston Rebel," more hostile to Republican principles and the Union than this extract from the "Mercury" on behalf of the nation of South Carolina.

"But when we resist, let us resist as becomes men and freemen; not each one in his own way, and without head or concert. But let our state legislature, or a state convention, after the maturest deliberation, take measures, and in proper time send on to the United States government its **ULTIMATUM**. Let Congress here be distinctly told, that either the general government must recede from its pretensions to inordinate power, or the state must recede from the compact, and should that government resolutely persist in the scheme of subverting our prosperity and sovereignty to its very foundations, let the governor be directed, by proclamation, to open our ports for the reception of the vessels of all nations, not excepting even those of our northern friends or enemies! Let no customs be exacted except by our own officers; and let all judges, magistrates, sheriffs, constables, and other citizens, be called upon to support the state authority and laws, and be indemnified for disobedience to federal authorities! All this may be done without the spilling of one drop of blood!

"There will be no necessity for firing a gun. Let the United States government fire the first shot, if it chooses! Better it would be, "that it had been born with a millstone around its neck," than to try this! We must take care not to be the aggressors in the shedding of blood! Let us stand on the defensive! By such a course as this, there will be some rallying point, and that point will be the legislature! Public opinion will, at once be united. The bold, the indecisive, the timorous, will all instantly think alike! The civil officers of the general government, in imitation of the noble example of the chivalric Habersham of Savannah, in the contest between Georgia and the U. States, will throw up their commissions. They could not do otherwise! Every man will rally round the state standard, and every state, similarly situated and oppressed, will join that standard, and make common cause with us! By such a course as this, the people of the north may be made to reflect on a subject which they have never yet considered fully, if they have considered it at all! Instead of despising us, as they now do, as vain boasters, they will begin to respect us—they will, by degrees, as they inquire into the powers of the

ral government, see the injustice of our cause; and by a timely change of rulers, congress may be probably brought to its senses, the constitution explained and expounded anew, the union preserved, and the sovereignty of the states and civil liberty hereafter placed on such an immoveable basis, as never again to be endangered by similar acts of folly and wickedness of congress!!!

(The above is taken from Niles' Register of the 16th August.)

Toasts drunk at Charleston, on the 28th June, the anniversary of the battle of Fort Sullivan:

By Major J. Hamilton, jun. (the member of congress)—The event which we commemorate.—The first *decisive* victory of the American revolution—a proud memorial of what South Carolina *was*—and a cheering token of what she *will be*, whenever called upon to defend her rights, her interests, and her honor.

By C. C. Pinkney—The battle of the 28th of June, and the tariff of June '28—Let New-England beware how she imitates the *old*.

By Wm. Carson—The 30th June—The day on which forbearance and patience cease to be virtuous.

By Henry Rutledge—The Rattlesnake of the south: Caveant Moniti: warned by its rattle, let the foe beware.

By the Orator—The hemp of Kentucky—better suited for *cravats for Kentuckians* and tariffites, than for the covering of South Carolina cotton.

(Taken from Niles' Register of July 26th.)

NO. II.

THE CHARGE OF NEGRO TRADING PROVED.

Extract from a letter, addressed by Col. Andrew Erwin, to Gen. Jackson, published in the Banner and Whig at Nashville, August 2, 1828.

"And now, sir, it remains for me to redeem the pledge I have given to the public, to prove you a *negro trader*, if you dare to deny it. I consider the publication of the 30th May and 11th June, in the Republican, as intended to be a flat denial on your part, of the charge, particularly the latter publication—and both evidently by your authority. It is manifest indeed you do not wish it to be believed. It has been pronounced by your supporters, a calumny seriously implicating your character, and has even been called by your printers, under the impulse of a too hasty zeal, "an infamous falsehood." Yet, when a statement is made by those same printers, on your own authority, of the circumstances of one transaction of the kind, enough—more than enough—is admitted, completely to sustain the charge. This has been already shown in the very conclusive and unanswerable letter of Doctor M'Nairy, which neither you nor any of your partisans have even attempted to controvert. But before I proceed with any further comments on your own admission, I will lay before you and the public, a little evidence on the subject, derived from another source. A purchase of negroes is acknowledged to have been made, in 1811, by the firm of Coleman, Greene and Jackson. The members of this firm were, Joseph Coleman, Horace Greene and yourself. I will, in the first place, present you with a statement of your partner, Mr. Horace Greene, who, you know, was in Nashville a few days since, and was seen and conversed with by a number of your warmest partisans. Why they did not procure from him an account of the transaction, will be readily seen on the perusal of the following letter.

Nashville, 18th July, 1828.

SIR—Your note enquiring of me information in relation to some negroes in which Gen. Jackson was concerned, I have received. To give a correct view of the transaction, as I understood it, I must connect it with another. In the latter part of the year 1810 Captain Joseph Coleman proposed to me to join him in the purchase of some cotton and tobacco of a Mr. Bennet Smith, to which I assented. He stated to me that Mr. Smith would require security, which he could

procure. Some short time after this understanding with Capt. Coleman, he informed that Mr. Smith would take no other security than General Jackson, and that General Jackson would be such, but that *he must be placed in the light of a PARTNER*, in order that he might have a controlling power if he thought it necessary. The cotton and tobacco were accordingly purchased, and taken by me to New-Orleans. I placed them in the hands of Gray and Taylor, then commission merchants of that place, for sale as the *property* of Coleman, Greene and Jackson. The article of cotton being somewhat depressed at the time, I was advised by them to ship it round to Philadelphia. I left it with them, and instructed them to do so for our benefit and returned to this place.

After my return in May, 1811, we purchased a number of negroes of a Mr. Epperson, for which *we* were to pay a part in hand—I paid *one third*, and understood the balance was paid by Captain Coleman and Gen. Jackson. The negroes were taken by me to Natchez *for sale*, and a part of them sold. In the month of December (I think) of the same year, I received letters from Gen. Jackson, (which letters at this time are mislaid) advising me *he had purchased out* Captain Coleman in *both* these transactions, and offering to sell out to me at cost by securing him, or to *buy me out*, and refund to me the advances which I had made. I thought proper to sell. In relation to the purchase of the negroes, although I had no understanding to the effect from either Captain Coleman or General Jackson, I thought it probable he stood in the *same situation* as in the purchase of the cotton and tobacco, from the circumstance, as I then believed, *it was his credit which enabled us to make the purchase*. Captain Coleman made the negotiation, and I made the selection. The negroes were, at the time of the transaction, at Captain Coleman's plantation, near this place, and I do not recollect that he saw them before they descended the river.

I am, respectfully,

HORACE GREENE.

It seems then from this statement, that a partnership was formed in the year 1810, between yourself, Joseph Coleman, and Horace Greene. You was applied to, in the first place, it is true to become a security, but you insisted on being placed in the light of a partner. A firm was therefore constituted under the style of "Coleman, Greene and Jackson," and in the Spring of 1811, a purchase was made by the firm, with your assent, (for your printers admit that the contract with Epperson was signed by yourself, as well as by the other partners) for the purchase of negroes, to the amount of ten thousand dollars. One third of that portion of the purchase money which was required in advance, Mr. Greene expressly tells us, was paid by him, and the other two thirds, he understood, were paid by Captain Coleman and General Jackson. Now sir, let us see what you yourself say, as to the payment of these two thirds. The following is an exact copy of a memorandum, in your own hand writing, which, in connexion with the above statement of Mr. Greene, leaves no room for the slightest doubt, as to the nature of this transaction.

"A. Jackson amount of *proportion* of cash for negroes bot. of Richard Epperson, \$929 45. J. Coleman is to pay the note in Bank for interest on purchase of cotton from B. Smith, for \$613 39, and the sum of \$191 $\frac{1}{2}$, which he is to pay, and the sum of \$125 for boat makes up *his proportion*. A. Jackson has paid for Keel-boat \$50. To Capt. Wetherall discount, this 20th of November, 1811, on the bill remitted W. Jackson and Co. on James Jackson and Co. \$14 51; and also \$16 on note endorsed by J. H. Smith. NOTE—provisions furnished cotton boat 500 lbs, pork & flour, and meal, in all \$17 50."

The above is in your hand writing. But sir, without dwelling longer on this point, I will call your attention, and that of the American people to the following letter from a gentleman whose high standing is well known to the citizens of Tennessee—a gentleman not only above reproach in private life, but distinguished for his public services in the legislature of the state, and the Congress of the nation.

Lockland, June 14th 1828.

Col. Andrew Erwin,

Sir,—In answer to your letter, addressed to me of the 26th ult. making inquiry relative to what knowledge I have respecting Gen. Andrew Jackson's buying

and selling negroes for profit, and his bringing negroes from Natchez—in the year 1811 or 12, I understood that a Mr. Horace Greene took from Nashville a number of negroes to Natchez, for sale, and that those negroes were *the property* of the late Joseph Coleman, of Nashville, *Gen. Andrew Jackson*, and said Horace Greene, (yet I do not know this of my own knowledge.) Some time after, I heard *Gen. Jackson* say he went to Natchez, or somewhere in that country, and had brought said negroes back to Tennessee; and about that time, a Mr. Dinsmore, the U. States agent for the Choctaw nation of Indians, was in the habit of stopping all persons travelling through said nation with a negro or negroes, who had not a passport. *The General observed*, that he had taken no passport, and on the morning he was to pass the agency, that *he armed two of his most resolute negro men*, and put them in front of his negroes, and gave them orders to **FIGHT THEIR WAY, if necessary.** He further observed, that a friend had put into his hand, the night before, or that morning, a *good rifle*; that when he came opposite the agency he directed his negroes to go on to a branch, and eat their breakfast—that he rode up to the agency, where he saw several Indian countrymen, inquired of them for Mr. Dinsmore, who informed him Mr. Dinsmore was not there, or from home. He told them to tell Mr. Dinsmore he should have been glad to have seen him, but he could not wait, that he was going on home *with his negroes*. A fellow named *John Simp*, whom I raised, and was sold by the then *Capt. John Brahan* to the said Joseph Coleman, was one of the negroes armed and put in front, as the Gen. then stated. The above is a true statement of what I heard *Gen. Andrew Jackson* say in Nashville, after his return from Natchez. It may not be the precise words, but it is the substance, to the best of my now recollection.

I am, sir, yours respectfully,

R. WEAKLEY.

It seems from this letter, that the purchase from Epperson was not the only negro speculation in which your firm was concerned. You bought of John Brahan, and probably, if all the transactions could be brought to light, of several other persons.

I will now ask your attention to the following extract from a letter written by you to a gentleman on business (not in bank) and dated Hermitage, March 20th, 1812.

"Having to attend Wilson circuit court, it will not be in my power to be in Nashville next week. I am very much engaged to arrange my business, so that I can leave home on the trip *with my negroes for sale.*"

The letter containing the above sentence is in your own hand writing and is signed **ANDREW JACKSON.**

I shall not trouble myself to conjecture whether it relates to some of the same negroes purchased of Epperson, by the firm of Coleman, Greene and Jackson, or whether it refers to another speculation. It is enough to show, at any rate, that you did not hesitate to speak freely at that time of your being actually engaged in negro traffic.

NO. II.

GEN. JACKSON'S CONNEXION WITH AARON BURR PROVED.

The following letters are published by Dr. Boyd McNairy in the Nashville Banner and Whig of August 16th, 1828.

General Jackson to Judge Williams.

HERMITAGE, FEBRUARY 23, 1828.

SIR: Having received a letter from a high minded, honorable gentleman of Virginia, who loves truth and knows how to appreciate character, I lose no time in laying before you the postscript of his letter, which is in the following words, viz: "It may be well to say that a letter was handed about at the Adams Convention, I hear, accusing you of being concerned in Burr's conspiracy, up-

on the authority of a Judge Nathaniel Williams, of your state. The report is, that this Judge Williams writes, when a young man, he applied to you, then a judge, to sign his license as a lawyer, that you did so, but recommended to him, as you conceived him to be a man of promise, to push his fortune by joining Burr, who was then in your house, promising if he would do so, to procure for him a commission as captain in Burr's army. This story is going the rounds from the Adams Delegates, who have returned home, notwithstanding they ought to know that you was the first person to put Governor Claibourne on his guard against the schemes of Burr.

VERBOM SOT."

The records of the country contradict this statement, as it is well known that I resigned my appointment of Judge before Col. Burr ever was in the state of Tennessee. I cannot, then, for one moment, permit myself to believe, that you, elevated as you are, to a seat on the judicial bench of Tennessee, could give your authority to such an unfounded falsehood. Duty to myself as well as justice to you, therefore, require that I should, without delay advise you of this libel upon my character, so that you may at once declare whether you are or are not the author of this calumny, before I expose it as such.

I am, and have been, well advised of a secret combination of a base and wicked few in Tennessee, whose object is to slander me, but, until now, I have never heard, or had the least intimation that you were of that group. Nor do I now believe that you, who must be so well satisfied of the falsehood contained in the postscript of the letter referred to above, as well as the rectitude of my conduct since your acquaintance with me, could be so lost to virtue and to truth as to have originated and put in circulation so base a calumny.—With this impression I send J. W. D. S. Donelson to you with this communication, having no doubt as an honorable man, that you will send me a frank and prompt reply.

ANDREW JACKSON.

(A copy signed)

The Hon NATH. WILLIAMS,

Judge of the Circuit Courts of Tennessee.

Judge Williams' reply to General Jackson.

SPARTA, Feb. 27, 1823.

After copying from Gen. Jackson's letter to me, the report as stated in his letter, I wrote as follows:

I can very frankly deny ever having written the letter spoken of by the gentleman who wrote you from Washington, but I did write a letter to a relation of mine at that time in Richmond. The letter, if seen, would show that it was designed as a confidential one. I do not, at this time, recollect accurately what the letter did contain; I believe though, I can remember a part, if not the whole, of what I intended at the time; and I will state it, as it is but just that what has been by my means privately circulated, should be publicly avowed under the necessities of the case.

Some time after Burr had passed Nashville once or twice, to the lower country, before Mr. Jefferson's proclamation, in riding from Gen. Jackson's house to Nashville, Gen. Jackson, in reference to that conspiracy, or what was afterwards called by others a conspiracy, said to me, "that I could, if I would accept it, obtain a commission of captain."

Afterwards, during the setting of the County Court of Sumner, at a time when Patton Anderson told me that either Burr or Adair, or both of them, were at Gen. Jackson's house, in a room of a tavern then kept by Edmond Crutcher, Gen. Jackson said to me—I think Judge Stewart was in the room—"Take notice, gentlemen, you will find that a division of the United States has taken deep root; you will find that a number of the senate, and a number of the members of the house of representatives are deeply involved in the scheme."

I am not certain that the above was contained in my private letter to Mr. Nathaniel Kerr; but as I have made these statements privately, it is but just that I should now avow them.

I am in hopes, sir, that this letter will be altogether satisfactory to you, for, Gen. Jackson may be assured (the presidential question aside) no man can feel

more bound to Gen. Jackson than myself, for the great honor conferred by him on my country.

(Copy)

Gen. Andrew Jackson.

NATH. W. WILLIAMS.

Dr. McNairy then proceeds to remark as follows:

"Without undertaking to say, how far the above affords evidence or reasonable cause for suspicion of an improper connexion between Gen. Jackson and Aaron Burr, I will now proceed to convince the public, that my allusion to the knowledge of certain transactions, the disclosure of which might not have been desirable at this critical period, was not, as has been asserted, entirely gratuitous and unfounded. In order to do this, I will merely furnish, at this moment, copies of two letters, the originals of which, *in the hand writing of General Andrew Jackson*, are in my possession, and may be inspected by any gentleman of either party, who may wish to examine them, and who will call on me for that purpose.

Copy of a letter from Gen. Andrew Jackson, dated

HERMITAGE, SEPT. 25, 1806.

Col. Burr is with me, he arrived last night—I would be happy you would call and see the Col. before you return—say to the Gen. O that I shall expect to see him here on to morrow with you—Would it not be well for us to do something as a mark of attention to the Col. He has always and is still a true and trusty friend to Tennessee—If Gen. Robertson is with you when you receive this Be good enough to say to him, that Col. Burr is in the country—I know that Gen. R. will be happy in joining in any thing—that will tend to show a mark of respect to the worthy visitant. With due Esteem.

ANDREW JACKSON.

Copy of another letter from the same.

Dear Friend—I send you five hundred dollars. It appears to me I said I would send you 1000 dollars, But when I came to myself I found there were appropriations made that I knew nothing of. This I learnt at the store, and Two Journeys to perform, and expences to be born that my recollection did not serve me with at the moment—Tomorrow when you come up arrangements shall be made, so as to accommodate as far as I can—My dear sir, do not fail to come up tomorrow, at ten o'clock I will meet you at my house—The Boats I think you said five in number and some Pork you would furnish—these must be done against the 20th of December next but more of this tomorrow—You must set out in a very few days, I will furnish the needfull—The cash now sent is in part for the boats—the ballance on delivery—Either in bank bills or a Draft on New-Orleans the 3000 dollars being all the cash that can be furnished, this must be appropriated to the best Possible advantage—and to the last shilling will be put in your way if you can furnish Boats and Pork except so much as will meet the engagements already entered into,—I send you twenty 20 dollar bills and ten 10 dollar bills—which I wish safe to hand, and beg of you not to fail coming up tomorrow—I wish to start a messenger on monday next—

Health and respect

ANDREW JACKSON.

I have no intention nor disposition to comment on these letters. They have been drawn from me by the pertinacious and reiterated abuse of Gen. Jackson's partisans, and I leave them, in connexion with other circumstances, to be considered and judged of by the American people.



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